

# The Classical Bulletin

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## Fac Hoc et Vives

By FRANCIS A. SULLIVAN, S. J.

St. Andrew-on-Hudson

*Imitation* is a word to conjure with. And, feeling just now in a conjuring mood, I propose to wave the magic wand for a brief space. For imitation, even of a verbal kind, I feel no aversion, but a sort of affection. How better initiate young minds into the mysteries of style than by setting them to reproduce a resonant period of Demosthenes, Cicero, or Macaulay, or a sinewy, terse, piquant passage of Tacitus or Strachey? The reward is soon reaped in overflowing measure when antithetic, balanced, and (who knows?) even musical phrases drop from the youthful pen, exulting in its new-found power. There are surely worse ways of learning the external features of style than by 'playing the sedulous ape,' as Stevenson, Newman, and a host of others discovered.

But this kind of imitation is only the first groping step towards a higher type of imitation, a type outlined by Aristotle in the *Poetics*, which is none other than re-creation; where not merely the outward form but the inner spirit of a passage or an entire work is first realized, then re-expressed with something of the same largeness of vision and depth of feeling as in the original. Such was the way in which Horace imitated his great Greek predecessors, the *exemplaria Graeca*, as he explains in *Epp.* I. xix, with many a fling at his contemporary *imitatores, servum pecus*; he had adapted Greek measures to the Roman lyre and assimilated the loftiness and originality of the Greeks, in a word, had re-created them for men of his time. Such, too, was the mode of imitation advocated by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, a process which he finely describes in the words, 'an activity of the soul set in motion by the wondrous spectacle of the seemingly beautiful.' Such, finally and notably, was the imitation and emulation of great poets and writers set forth in such glowing terms by 'Longinus' in his work *On the Sublime* (chap. xiii): "For many men are swept away and inspired by the *spirit* of others . . . from the great natures of the men of old there passes in upon the *souls* of those who emulate them what one may call effluences, so that even those who are not exceptionally enthusiastic are inspired and held spellbound by others' greatness." And again, in another passage (chap. ix), he says: "We must nurture our souls (as far as may be) unto greatness and make them, so to speak, big with noble inspiration . . . great utterance is the echo of a great soul." *Hic labor, hoc opus est* for us teachers whose high calling it is to see that these emanations from the classics pass into the souls of our disciples. Our mission it is to be Pythian priestesses to our young Aeneases of scholars—*maiorque videri nec mortale sonans*—as we draw them within the sacred cave of learning.

Is this but a pleasant dream, idle and unrealizable? Are we doomed to failure in our task of making "those great men [to use Dryden's words] whom we propose to ourselves as patterns of our imitation serve as a torch . . . to enlighten our passage and often elevate our thoughts"? Must we stand helpless by these streams of living water, or rather, though we may not force our followers to drink thereof, cannot we at least give them a thirst for these waters that will spring up into a more abundant life of the soul? *Quod isti et istae, cur non nos?* Others have done so in the past; why cannot we do the same? 'Apparuit humanitas Ciceronis, Vergili, Horati' should we repeat to ourselves day in and day out as we read and reread the classics. Long years ago, Pliny once wrote to a friend of his: *Profecturus es ad homines maxime homines*, "You are on the point of setting out to meet men supremely men," — inspired words that every teacher of the classics should constantly keep on his lips and in his heart as he begins a classical author. For here we are dealing with *human* things, "the great human persons and the great human works of literature . . . that are competent to transmit to the future the knowledge and wisdom and beauty of the past."<sup>1</sup> Not only 'Euripides the human,' but Demosthenes and Sophocles, Cicero and Vergil are nearer to us, more contemporary than many men we meet today; they stand ready, in the fine words of Aldus Manutius, to be 'helpful comrades for us, however long the journey of life,' *ut commodi nobis quamvis longae viae comites forent*.<sup>2</sup> They are the immortal humanists of the past who have fathomed most deeply the human heart (their own, first of all!), and translated into human language the thoughts and feelings of mankind. As we hear their voices, their accents of joy and sorrow—the 'still, sad music of humanity'—it seems that we are listening to what is most personal to ourselves; they reveal ourselves to ourselves, and make conscious what before was only dimly felt; they teach us to lead richer lives, to see better the world of nature and man, to think better, love and desire better, to be, in a word, more fully human—*humaniores*—*maxime homines*. To establish vital contact with them, through this higher form of imitation, is to climb out of our cramping limitations; their spiritual *elan* draws us, almost despite ourselves, towards all that gives an immortal worth to human life. And God knows how much the sick world of today needs these spiritual vitamins!

The attractive power of the classical authors, when they are rightly read, is immense: they seduce us by their beauty, their heroism. For the desire to *imitate* an ideal lies deep-buried within all of us—if only we can discover the ideal and feel the contagious fire that burns there. At certain epochs, men succeeded, by some miracle, in fulfilling, almost perfectly, the human ideal;

because the ancient Greeks and Romans were fully human, their works of literature and art caught up what was essential and timeless in man: their beauty and wisdom is not of a day or a generation only, but of all times.<sup>3</sup>

It is, then, this *forma ac figura animi* in the classical authors that we must strive to realize in ourselves and help others to realize: the universally ideal type of MAN incarnate in Cicero, Vergil, Horace, and the others. Because they were humane and ideal and spiritual, they could be taken over by Christians, 'spoils pillaged from the Egyptians,' to use Augustine's phrase. "If a man," says Father Castiello in his admirable summary of the spirit of Christian humanism, "has been in touch with the culture of Rome and Greece, if he has put himself in contact with the *living personalities*, not with the mere words and verbal expressions, of their intellectual, philosophical, artistic, and political leaders, he will have admirable standards by which to judge in art, literature, law, social life, history and politics. He will have gathered to himself that which is best and purest (from a natural standpoint) in man. And if, besides all this, the classical student is humble; if the love of intellectual light has not killed in him the sense of the mystery and the aspiration after that which is beyond the merely rational formula; if he has learned from Plato to be scientifically humble, hungry, thirsty, always hungry and thirsty for more and more truth . . . if a man realize all this, then there shall have been produced, not merely a classical scholar and a man of culture, but a spirit which is eminently capable of assimilating Divine Grace."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> N. Foerster, *The American State University* (Univ. of N. Carolina Pr., 1937), 255 ff., has some excellent remarks on the role of the classics.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by E. K. Rand in his delightfully human chapter, "The Ancient Classics and the New Humanism," of the book *On Going to College* (Oxford U. Pr., 1938).

<sup>3</sup> Nowhere, perhaps, is the true spirit of humanism more penetratingly treated than in F. Charmot, *L'Humanisme et l'Humain* (Paris, 1934), especially chap. ii, "L'Humanisme Éternel." See also W. Jaeger, "Classical Philology and Humanism," in *T. A. P. A.*, LXVII (1936), 363 ff., on the problem of reconciling the older conception of humanistic studies with the newer type of classical scholarship.

<sup>4</sup> J. Castiello, *A Humane Psychology of Education* (New York, 1936), 192-193. Another recent book that every lover of the classics should read is R. Livingstone, *Greek Ideals and Modern Life* (Harv. U. Pr., 1935).

### Church-Latin

The Church-Latin or Scholastic-Latin is well worthy of our admiration, and indeed of our study. Ozanam has put its merits in a few characteristic words: "And thus was formed Church-Latin—that strange tongue at once old and new, often sublime in its strength, yet possessing grace, beauty, and great writers of its own—rich enough for all the needs of liturgy, scholasticism, canon and feudal law—homely enough for commerce, for teaching, for the education of the barbarians—and fertile enough to bring forth the whole modern family of neo-Latin tongues." Indeed, it may well be asked if language has ever been seen to better advantage than in this same Latin which was consecrated by the Old Itala translation of the New Testament.—*Vincent McNabb*

### A Brief Survey of the Jesuit Theatre Movement

BY CARL M. REINERT, S. J.

Creighton University High School

Any history of the Jesuit Theatre which makes the pretense of being thorough, must necessarily be analytic of the whole scheme of government and education in the Society of Jesus. In the following brief sketch no completeness is intended. Much of the necessary analysis is presupposed; most of the research is borrowed.

No sooner had the instruction of youth become the clear-cut aim of the infant Society of Jesus in the sixteenth century, than there began a simultaneous development of an educational system proper to that Society, which was to realize its perfection in the famous and much-revised *Ratio Studiorum*.<sup>1</sup> Now the *Ratio* was nothing more than an educational document drawn up by members of the Order after many years of experience, and rewritten and adapted to fit more exactly the exigencies which experiment brought to light. Its aim was to present a general, flexible plan to be followed, *mutatis mutandis*, in all the schools of the Society. The precise nature of the *Ratio Studiorum* has been made the subject of numerous books in recent years; hence we need not make a study of it here.<sup>2</sup>

It is sufficient for our present purpose to point out two main features of the *Ratio*, both of which had a positive and direct influence on the origin and development of the Jesuit Theatre.<sup>3</sup> First, the *Ratio* insisted on pupil training according to the totality of human nature, that is, a training not only of body and mind, but of heart and will as well, and that not only for this life, but for eternal life. Secondly, it ever maintained a Christian attitude toward humanistic studies, and, though encouraging an enthusiastic pursuit of Quintilian's ideal of *Eloquentia Latina*, strove at the same time to replace the pagan view of a false and exaggerated humanism with the profound and beautiful truths of Christianity.<sup>4</sup>

It was, therefore, quite necessary that a system which strove to realize such a high educational ideal, should make use of every means at hand which might in any way further the attainment of that goal. The stage, for a long period of time extending back into the early Middle Ages, had been acknowledged by all educators as one of the most effective instruments of sound pedagogy.<sup>5</sup> True, the very success it attained together with its innate tendency toward deterioration resulting from the emphasis it necessarily placed upon the emotions, had brought the stage again and again into disrepute. The Jesuits, ever eager to draw good out of evil, in spite of the somewhat degenerate condition in which they found the stage at the inception of the Order, were not blind to the intrinsic value of dramatics in the process of an integral formation of youthful character. In the theatre they saw a means for developing their pupils in mental acumen, in will power, in physical poise, in speaking ability, in literary appreciation, and all this in perfect harmony with the ideal of the *Ratio*, the training of the whole man in accord with a Christianized humanism.

We are not surprised, then, to find an extensive use of the theatre, ratified by the wisely cautious yet whole-

hearted approbation of higher superiors in the Order, beginning during the latter half of the sixteenth century, and progressing side by side with the rapid growth of the Society right up to the year of its suppression in 1773.<sup>6</sup>

The chief purposes of the theatre as part of the Jesuit curriculum may be enumerated as follows: first, the attainment of facility in the use of Latin; second, skill in public oratory and declamation, an eminently practical aim; third, religious instruction for both actors and audience; fourth, theological instruction to counteract the heresies of the day; fifth, effective advertisement of the schools; sixth, interest on the part of parents and benefactors; seventh, entertainment and recreation.<sup>7</sup>

At the outset the plays were introduced strictly as part of the classical curriculum; hence they were always written in Latin,—usually by the professors of Poetry or Rhetoric,—and produced privately, perhaps within the lecture room itself. Very soon, however, it became the custom to present these plays along with public exhibitions and recitations at stated intervals during the school year, especially on the days when prizes were distributed for scholastic achievement.<sup>8</sup> Finally, the colleges began to have public performances of the plays not only on prize days, but also on all the great festivals of the Church.

The audiences were for the most part composed of the parents of the students, though there was free admission for all who desired to come. Very often prelates and dignitaries of the Church as well as officials of State were present. Many cases are on record where dukes, lords, princes, and even kings and queens attended. As the college theatrical presentations grew in grandeur and popularity, the audiences grew in number and distinction, until at last it became necessary to repeat performances as many as four and five times to accommodate all who wished to witness them.

We can get some idea of the extent of the Jesuit Theatre by considering the rapid growth in number of the Society's colleges during the early centuries of its existence. The first fully constituted classical college was opened at Messina in 1548.<sup>9</sup> Soon others were opened in Italy, Spain, and Portugal, and later on in Germany and France, so that by 1600 there were about 300, by 1650, 500, and by 1700, nearly 750, colleges in all.<sup>10</sup> Now if we suppose,—and the supposition is not at all unreasonable,—that each of these colleges was having, on an average, three Latin plays per school year, we can without difficulty imagine what a vast library of dramatic literature must have been circulating among these seventeenth century educational institutions. The existence of a great number of printed programs confirms our highest estimate of the size of this collection, even though many of the plays are not extant today.

Among such an enormous body of written compositions, many of which were never intended for publication, it is only natural that there should be some plays of the very highest type, and others less deserving of the name of great literature. It is certain, however, that, of those still extant, the majority are superior rather than inferior in literary and dramatic merit, a superiority of which many modern historians of drama seem to be unaware.<sup>11</sup> The excellence of this repertoire is explicable by the fact

that the playwrights in this case were men carefully trained in the use of the instruments with which they worked, men who knew Latin and Greek classics practically by heart, who had certainly followed the trends of drama from the early Middle Ages, and who gave proof of their practical and theoretical insight into things theatrical by producing numerous Latin commentaries on nearly all of the world's great dramatists in ancient and modern times.

To trace the influence of the Jesuit Theatre upon contemporary dramatic literature, and upon the content and form of subsequent world drama, might well form the problem of separate research. It is enough to say here that to deny an appreciable influence to so excellent and far-reaching a movement in the stream of literature, is to admit but a superficial acquaintance with the history of Jesuit education in Europe. It is hardly possible to think that this powerful tool of the Jesuit educational system was ineffective in the training of the countless youths who came under its sway. Among that vast multitude of college graduates were representatives of every station of life, nobles, aristocrats, middle class boys, paupers. All of them went forth into the world at the end of school days filled with the ideas and ideals they had seen and acted in their own college theatre. Many of the greatest literary minds of Europe were cultivated and nurtured in the schools of the Society. These were the men who created the literature of their own day. Obviously they owed much if not everything to the training that had been given them.

Finally, the intimate contact between the founts of learning and the populace realized through the instrumentality of the Jesuit Theatre cannot have been without its direct and positive influence for good, not only on the *littérateurs*, but on that vast army of common people which formed the greater part of its audience. It is sincerely to be hoped that the excellent work<sup>12</sup> of bringing the literary works of the Jesuit Theatre Movement to light will be as enthusiastically continued as it has been eagerly and successfully begun.

<sup>1</sup> For the text of the *Ratio*, see G. M. Pachtler, S. J., *Ratio Studiorum et Institutiones Scholasticae Societatis Jesu per Germaniam olim Vigentes, Collectae, Concinnatae, Dilucidatae*. Berlin: Hoffmann, 1887-1894.

<sup>2</sup> W. G. McGucken, S. J., *The Jesuits and Education* (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1932).

<sup>3</sup> W. H. McCabe, S. J., "An Introduction to the Jesuit Theatre" (Unpublished Diss. presented at Cambridge U.), Part I.

<sup>4</sup> Allan P. Farrell, S. J., *The Jesuit Code of Liberal Education*. "Development and Scope of the Ratio Studiorum." (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1938). P. 229.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*; p. 122.

<sup>6</sup> McCabe, *l. c.*; Ch. I, p. 21.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*; Ch. III.

<sup>8</sup> The process of prize distribution is well illustrated by Fr. McCabe in "Early Jesuit Prize Days," *The Classical Bulletin* X (1934), pp. 57-59.

<sup>9</sup> Farrell, *l. c.*; p. 25.

<sup>10</sup> McCabe, *l. c.*; Ch. I, p. 8.

<sup>11</sup> Notable among these is Henry Carrington Lancaster, *A History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century*; 3 Parts, 6 Volumes. (The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1929). Lancaster belittles the Jesuit Theatre in several places of his work, showing but a superficial acquaintance with much that is best in it. His a priori arguments for the impossibility of its excellence are well answered in Fr. McCabe's Dissertation.

<sup>12</sup> Begun at St. Louis University.



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## Editorial

The study of Latin—and the same is true, *mutatis mutandis*, of Greek—can be enriched when handled as a 'social' study. We are born into a definite world, at a definite time, in a definite milieu. If it is part of our education to understand ourselves, we must needs understand our civilization; and to know that, we should know the civilization of which ours is a late offshoot. We can be 'good' men without this surplus of intellectual refinement; but can we be 'educated' if we are dead to the roots of our being? 'Socializing' Latin develops in the student attitudes desirable in a useful citizen: a sense of moral responsibility to our fellows, sensitiveness to human suffering, open-mindedness, tolerance, and the general habit of making the past bear fruit in the present.

Let us develop this idea a little. Through 'socialized' Latin the student is face to face with the most important facts and phases of Roman civilization; he delves into Roman history—and history is *magistra omnium rerum*; he sees the influence, direct or indirect, of Roman ideas on our modern life; he acquires the wholesome, sobering feeling that there is nothing new under the sun; the *bellum Gallicum* invites comparison of ancient with modern warfare; the *bellum civile* shows how an able leader can demolish a republic; Cicero and Sallust reveal the economic and political conditions of the times; Cicero and Pliny lay bare the more intimate relations of ancient life; the typical Roman traits, *gravitas*, *constantia*, *probitas*, *fides*, *pietas*, *magnitudo animi*, sharpen the sense of ethical values; the *Aeneid* shows how a Roman conceived of his *Weltmission*; but amid the glamor of old Rome one also notes the dark forces which in the end sapped the Roman fabric; Roman art and archaeology are another source of modern indebtedness to Rome; above all, the deep religious sense that pervaded Roman life is wholesomely impressive. Knowing Latin literature, the student can trace in modern reading the references to ancient life; finally, the study of Latin

helps him to understand his mother tongue. In a word, "the Latin texts that we read run the gamut of politics and sport, honor and patriotism, religion and the home, amusements, travel, concrete highways, slavery, marriage, and war, books and baths, animals and apartment houses, government relief, France *versus* Germany, love or duty. The Latin course can be made a magic box from which any topic at all may be drawn out to inspire and instruct an interested and attentive class."

This is little more than the gist of a lecture on 'Social Values in the Study of Latin,' given last June by Professor B. L. Ullman at the Texas Latin Teachers Institute and printed in the Tournament Number for 1939-1940 of 'The Latin Leaflet' (University of Texas). 'Socializing' Latin is so obvious a process that one wonders whether there can be any wide-awake teacher who fails to see its value for the classroom.

As should be expected, Professor Ullman does not hold the social values to be 'the only ones' derivable from Latin.

The modern classical teacher must take to heart Horace's clever advice to legacy hunters: *Neu desis operae neve immoderatus abundes* (*Sat.* 2.5.89). The two 'Clashing Rocks' which he must avoid are too little and too much emphasis on what connects the past with the present. The past—and what a past!—holds lessons 'useful' for the solution of modern problems. With 'discipline and culture' for his compass each teacher has to discover his own way of escaping the Symplegades.

Wherever in this country the stream of classical 'tradition' is still flowing there vigorous efforts are being put forth to realize a goal first pointed out by the clear-headedness of the Greeks, then taken over by the common sense of the Romans, and finally glorified by the genius of Christianity. As regards accidentals, men may dispute the exact boundaries of *humanitas*; but no classically trained educator<sup>1</sup> of the day has any serious doubts about the core meaning of that term. 'Sing me the *man*' is the voice that is heard, more and more distinctly, above the confused tongues of the thoroughfare; and if the classics are to continue their saving work, 'Sing me the *man*' must remain the song of the classical teacher.

<sup>1</sup> See, for instance, "The Classical Discipline in Education," by W. H. Alexander, *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Vol. XXXIII, 1939; Gilbert A. Highet, "The Renaissance of the Classics," *Columbia University Quarterly*, December, 1939; C. C. Mierow, "Sing Me the Man," *CLASSICAL BULLETIN*, October, 1938; R. E. Henle, "Education Through the Classics," *ib.*, October, 1939; S. A. Mulcahy, "A New Challenge and Its Oldest Answer," *ib.*, December, 1939; R. G. North, "Humanism and Education," *Thought*, September, 1939. And this list is by no means complete. A sound discussion of the term 'Mental Discipline' will be found in S. S. Laurie, *Language and Linguistic Method*, Edinburgh: Thine, 1893.

Good books, like well-built houses, must have tradition behind them. The Homers and Shakespeares and Goethes spring from rich soil left by dead centuries; they are like native trees that grow so well nowhere else. The little writers are just as traditional. The only difference is that their tradition goes back to books instead of life.—Henry Seidel Canby

**Ad Crucem**

*Unde Christus Coronatus et Praetextatus Cunctis  
Gentibus Imperat*

*Discipulus*

Discam, cur moriens Christus in arbore  
Praetexta tunica fulserit aurea,  
Quid, spinis terebratus,  
Expansis manibus petat.

*Rea*

Se Regem tunica murice splendida  
Vestitum perhibet. Sceptra domantia  
Per terras populos, haec  
Christus regibus attulit.

*Sacerdos*

Demonstrat capitis mitraque spinea  
Summo Pontifici munera credita,  
In mundique salutem  
Laudes et meritis Patris.

*Propheta*

Clavis in cathedra fixus ut est Crucis,  
Vates nos homines edocet, ut sacris  
Praeceptis animati  
Sectemur Crucis et viam.

*Doctrina*

Quamvis imperitet sic Dominus potens,  
Derident homines Calvariae thronum:  
Sed Christus dominatur,  
Stat Crux, perpetuo viget!

Chicagine

JACOBUS J. MERTZ, S. J.

Ex Universitate Loyolaea

**De Arte Coquinaria<sup>1</sup>**

BY DWIGHT NELSON ROBINSON  
Ohio Wesleyan University

Among the various methods which different persons have employed to solace the mind in times of stress and confusion, to bring calmness and rest to a troubled spirit, and to ease the pinch of depression, it seems strange that the gentle art of cookery has not been employed more fully than it has been. I know of nothing more soothing after attending a long and unproductive Faculty meeting; after listening to a statement that another cut in Faculty salaries is not only in *posse* but in *esse*; after seeing some hare-brained scheme enacted that will inflict upon future students a weakened curriculum in which social science serves not only as the core but also as the big apple; after subjecting oneself to one form or another of weariness and vexation of spirit—than to take refuge in the culinary art, which has almost as great possibilities of solace as some more philosophical means of relief, and at the same time is highly gratifying to the inner man.

I freely confess that on innumerable occasions I myself have fled to this relief in times of academic stress and strain, and marvel that the art is not more generally appreciated as a relief mechanism. And now those of us who have devoted ourselves to cookery have discovered a new source of interest and investigation inasmuch as there has become available to cooks of an academic cast the splendid new edition of Apicius which came off the press in 1936.<sup>2</sup> Those who have studied the private life of the Romans have been familiar for years with the name of Apicius but have had scant opportunity to familiarize themselves with the cookbook that bears his name. No English translation had hitherto been published, although various Latin editions had

appeared, and the work had been translated into Italian and German. In 1705 a Latin edition was published in London with notes by Dr. Lister which aroused some interest in contemporary England. Dr. William King wrote that he had not seen the book himself but that a friend had enjoyed a cursory view, cursory because the owner of the book was not "willing to part with so valuable a rarity out of his closet."<sup>3</sup> For the last two hundred years the same difficulty has prevailed in regard to this unusual work, and the English-speaking world has not been able to peruse the cookbook in the vernacular.

The present handsome edition is the work of Joseph D. Vehling, who was unusually well fitted by his previous career for the task in hand. Born in a little town on the German-Dutch frontier, he early showed such proficiency in Latin that his teachers hoped that he would enter the priesthood. His family, however, had other ideas—they wanted him to be a cook. After his apprenticeship in the art, he practised in a number of European countries, devoting his free hours to study in museums and libraries. A visit to Pompeii further aroused his interest and made him determine to pursue the necessary studies in preparation for describing the table of the Romans and giving to the world the present translation. After a period spent in practising his profession in Vienna, he came to the United States where, in addition to his printed articles on food and cookery, he has been connected with various well-known enterprises in his chosen field. Beside all this he has found time to complete and publish his present edition of Apicius in English dress, adding to the translation of the text much of the greatest value, based on his own expert knowledge, for the purpose of explanation and elucidation of the work of a most difficult author. The present edition is a handsome example of the printer's art and is embellished with various illustrations of cooking utensils of the Romans, as well as much allied material.

Being so closely related to human life, we are not at all surprised that the subject of foodstuffs and cookery appears at least sporadically in the works of so many Latin authors. One recalls at once the passages dealing with food in Plautus and Terence, the gastronomic satires of Horace, the references to eating in Pliny the Younger, and particularly the *Cena Trimalchionis* with its satirical account of the feast of the wealthy parvenu. Needless to say, these references to various viands are merely incidental to the plot of the play, are introduced for descriptive reasons to make more vivid the account of some feast, or are mentioned in a purely casual manner. None of the authors named make any pretence of writing an exhaustive treatise on the subject of the culinary art as it was practised among the Romans. This more specialized phase of Roman cookery was reserved for the master whose work has come down to us under the name of Apicius. Several culinary specialists who lived in Roman times bore this name. An earlier Apicius lived during the time of Sulla, while the more famous character of that name flourished under Augustus and Tiberius. Although Athenaeus was familiar with most of the classic authors, he makes no mention of the collection of recipes that later was current under the name of Apicius, but he does give a picturesque account of the

man in the following passage: "About the time of Tiberius there lived a man, named Apicius; very rich and luxurious, for whom several kinds of cakes, called Apician, are named. He spent vast sums on his belly, living chiefly at Minturnae, a city of Campania, eating very expensive crawfish, which are found in that place superior in size to those of Smyrna, or even to the crabs of Alexandria. Hearing, too, that they were very large in Africa, he sailed thither, without waiting a single day, and suffered excessively on his voyage. But when he came near the coast, before he disembarked (for his arrival made a great stir among the Africans) the fishermen came alongside in their boats and brought him some very fine crawfish, and he, when he saw them, asked if they had any finer; and when they said that there were none finer than those which they had brought, he, recollecting those at Minturnae, ordered the master of the ship to sail back the same way into Italy, without going near the land." Athenaeus further informs us that some of the recipes of this authority were famous and were named after him.<sup>4</sup> Vehling suggests that this confirms the theory that Apicius did not write this book at all, but that it was named after him by an unknown author or compiler.<sup>5</sup> This M. Gabius (or Gavius) Apicius is said, furthermore, to have collected material on the subject of cookery and endowed a school for the teaching of the art.<sup>6</sup> According to both Martial<sup>7</sup> and Seneca<sup>8</sup> he spent sixty million sesterces on his stomach, and when the steward found that he had only ten million left he committed suicide at a banquet specially arranged for the occasion, rather than live in what he considered would be poverty. When one turns to the book itself, he discovers dishes named for individuals like Vitellius, who lived after the time of the second Apicius, thus proving that if Apicius was the author of the original collection additions must have been made by a later compiler. A very striking thing about the book is the large number of Greek terms, including not only the names of the chapters but also numerous other expressions which would suggest a Greek origin for many of the recipes. Another peculiar feature of the collection in its present form is the absence of recipes for baked dishes and likewise for desserts, although the Romans were skilled in their preparation, as is evident from some of the cooking utensils which have come down to us. Almost all of the utensils employed today were used by Apicius and many of his methods are still in vogue, so that certain of our present-day dishes resemble rather strongly those which he describes.

The archetype of the ms. of Apicius was apparently in the monastery at Fulda in Germany, and was copied twice about the 9th century, one copy being in the Vatican,<sup>9</sup> and the other in New York.<sup>10</sup> In addition to the recipes appearing in these two mss. we find in the codex Salmasianus<sup>11</sup> about thirty additional recipes attributed to Apicius and excerpted by Vinidarius about the 5th century A.D. The titles of the different books that compose the work are rather picturesque, and are taken from the Greek. First comes the *Epimeles*, or Careful Cook; followed by the *Sarcopes*, which deals with the subject of minced dishes; *Cepuros*, or the Gardener, dealing with various vegetables; *Pandeeter*,

in which the author treats miscellaneous dishes; *Osprion*, or Legumes; *Aëropetes*, or Fowl; *Polyteles*, or Elaborate Dishes; *Tetrapus*, or Quadrupeds; *Haliæus*, or the Fisherman; and the excerpts from *Vinidarius*. When one begins the study of Apicius from the practical point of view of the cook who is looking for new experiences, an almost endless number of difficulties present themselves. The language is not as exact as that used in most modern cookery, and often one word is used in different places with a variety of meanings. Vehling cites as an example of this the word *liquamen*, which covers a large variety of the liquids used in cookery. In some contexts it may refer to a sauce, elsewhere it is gravy, at times it means drippings, and at other times a soup stock. For this reason there is great difficulty in using the recipes unless the person employing them has a complete and expert knowledge of cookery so as to be able to interpret just what the word means in a given context. It is this lack of expert knowledge that has given rise to some of the controversy in regard to Apicius, though a more complete understanding of culinary science will reveal the fact that the recipes of Apicius are not much stranger than quite a large number of concoctions used today, that we not merely put into our stomachs but for which we are also willing to expend a large amount of cash. Not only does the terminology cause us considerable difficulty, but also the Apician manner of setting forth the recipes. And yet here again is revealed the practice of the experienced cook. Apicius is usually chary about giving amounts of ingredients so that an inexperienced cook in attempting to use the recipes is lost and bewildered. The same mysterious phenomenon, however, besets modern cookery. Who has not seen the puzzled and distracted expression of the young bride when listening to the description of a favorite recipe given her by a grandmother or an aunt? It usually goes something like this: "Take some flour, about as much as you need, mix it with the milk, and cook it until it is about as thick as you want it," and when the inexperienced person asks for more details the practised hand replies: "Oh, I don't know how much I take, I just tell by the look of it." This difficulty appears everywhere in the book of Apicius and is the cause of many culinary tragedies ever since the book first became known and aroused the curiosity of epicures.

[To be continued]

<sup>1</sup> Read before the annual meeting of the Ohio Classical Conference, at Columbus, Ohio, October 29, 1938.

<sup>2</sup> *Apicius, Cookery and Dining in Imperial Rome*, by J. D. Vehling (Walter M. Hill; Chicago, 1936).

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, Introduction, p. xx.

<sup>4</sup> Athenaeus, *Deipn.*, I 7a. I have followed in the main Vehling's translation.

<sup>5</sup> Vehling, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

<sup>6</sup> Seneca, *Consol. ad Helv.* 10, 8.4.

<sup>7</sup> Martial, III, 22, 7.

<sup>8</sup> Seneca, *op. cit.*, *ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *Vat. Urbinas*, Lat. 1146, of the 9th century.

<sup>10</sup> New York, Library of the Academy of Medicine; till 1930 in Cheltenham, Gloucester, Bibl. Phillips 275, ca. 9th century.

<sup>11</sup> *Paris*, Lat. 10318, 8th century.

It was Varro, an ancient Roman, who said that the gods made the country for us, but man built the towns.

—Theodor Haecker



## Fasting and Abstinence in Classical Writers

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Surprisingly numerous are the passages in classical writers which contain regulations concerning fasting and abstinence from certain foods and drinks. Such regulations played an important part in the different forms of religious life: in cults and mystery religions, in vaticination, in magic and popular medicine, as a religious *ἄσκησις* in sects like the Orphics, Pythagoreans, Neo-Pythagoreans, and Neoplatonics.<sup>1</sup>

The ancient writers also tried to find explanations for the origin and motives of the manifold forms of fasting. Their methods of exegesis can be divided into three classes.

In the first place, there are attempts which make use of a myth in order to explain a rite of fasting. The oldest example of this method of interpretation is the Homeric hymn to Demeter which at the same time serves as the best introduction to the old traditions of the Eleusinian mysteries. According to the hymn, Kore is seized by Hades while she is playing in the meadows. Her mother, Demeter, wanders for nine days, inconsolable and abstaining from food and drink, until her daughter's whereabouts is revealed by Helios and Hecate. This fasting is represented by the poet as the prototype of the *νηστεία* which was prescribed for the candidate who aspired to initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries. The relationship between myth and rite, however, is just the opposite. The rite of fasting existed first, the myth represents a later attempt to suggest a motive for, and an interpretation of, the rite. Examples of such aetiological-mythical interpretations could be easily multiplied. As a reason for the abstinence from beans in the worship of Demeter, Pausanias<sup>2</sup> gives a myth which was told by the inhabitants of the town of Pheneus in Arcadia. According to this myth, they had hospitably received the goddess on her wanderings, and for their kindness she presented them with all the species of leguminous plants except beans. The prohibition of fish as food in Egypt was associated with the myth of Osiris and Typhon. The fishes had devoured one of the members of Osiris' body, lacerated by Typhon; and for this reason the Egyptians since that time abhorred fishes.<sup>3</sup> On the island of Crete the eating of pork was not allowed, because a sow had given suck to little Zeus and saved him from the persecutions of Kronos by its grunting, which sounded above the crying of the child.<sup>4</sup> The abstinence from bread in the cult of the Great Mother of Asia Minor is explained by Arnobius<sup>5</sup> as follows: "Quid temperatus ab alimonia panis, cui rei dedistis nomen castus?<sup>6</sup> Nonne illius temporis imitatio est, quo se numen ab Cereris fruge violentia maeroris abstinuit?" As in the above-mentioned hymn to Demeter, Cybele's abstinence from bread because of her mourning for the dead Attis is represented as the prototype of the abstinence practised by her followers.

A second method of exegesis tries to explain habits of fasting in a rationalistic way. This method, like the other, gives no clue to the true motives for the regulations governing such abstemiousness. Thus Aelian,<sup>7</sup> explaining the prohibition of pork in Egypt, relies upon

a passage of Eudoxus according to which swine were used to stamp the sown grain into the silt. Julian, in his oration to the Mother of the Gods,<sup>8</sup> explains the abstinence from fish by saying that man does not care for fish-breeding as he does for sheep-farming; and that for this reason he has no right to use fish as food. Another reason is alleged by Plutarch:<sup>9</sup> "The other (reason) is obvious and commonplace, in that it declares that fish is an unnecessary and superfluous food, and confirms the words of Homer, who, in his poetry, represents neither the Phaeacians, who lived amid a refined luxury, nor the Ithacans, who dwelt on a island, as making any use of fish, nor did even the companions of Odysseus, while on such a long voyage and in the midst of the sea, until they had come to the extremity of want." That this cannot be the real reason, we know from the fact that fish was one of the most important articles of food for the common people in the Mediterranean basin.<sup>10</sup> Mnaseas in his description of Asia<sup>11</sup> traces the prohibition of fish back to the law of a wicked and tyrannical queen Atagartis who forbade her subjects to eat fish. On the contrary, she required them to bring the fish to her, because she was very fond of this sort of food.

We must add here the allegorizing exegesis of the Pythagoreans, who at one time interpreted the prohibition of beans as 'sexual continence' and again as 'refraining from state-affairs,' etc.<sup>12</sup>

From the examples cited we can realize that a later age was no longer able to assign the true reasons for the fasting practised in an earlier time, because it could not recapture the naive state of mind of a more primitive civilization.

The third kind of information given by ancient writers is the most valuable for us because it puts us on the right track. They draw their interpretations from popular beliefs, from traditions of earlier degrees of civilization. As among other peoples, there existed in primitive Greece the belief that the act of taking food was especially dangerous because of the fact that demoniac forces could use this opportunity to enter into the human body and there produce destructive effects. As a precautionary measure, primitive man employed fasting and avoidance of certain foods which were considered especially dangerous and attractive to such destructive forces.<sup>13</sup> In writers like Porphyrius,<sup>14</sup> Pseudo-Clement,<sup>15</sup> Xenocrates,<sup>16</sup> Plutarch,<sup>17</sup> we still find the original meaning of such fasting—exercises which aimed at the *φάτων δαιμόνων ἀποτροπή*. Porphyrius<sup>18</sup> explains in a similar way the abstinence from meat: fear of the 'souls' (of the slaughtered animals) and of other demons who, owing to the transmigration of souls, have taken their abode there and try to return. Also Pliny the Elder<sup>19</sup> sees the motive which led to the abstinence from beans in the fact that the souls of the dead reside in them. According to the doctrine of sympathy and antipathy in magic, the gods disliked certain species of animals and plants because demons, who belonged to the 'series' of wicked and impure divinities, resided in them. The magician, his assistants, and mediums had, therefore, to abstain from such foods and drinks.<sup>20</sup> In the mind of primitive man the striking changes, produced in the human body by

certain dishes, especially those causing flatulence, were more than merely physiological processes; demoniac influences stood behind them.<sup>21</sup> But the aim which, at the beginning, was a merely negative (apotropaic) one, could in a further, quite natural psychological development of the same idea, easily be changed into a positive one; for, to be free from disturbing demoniac influences means also to be in the state of ἀγνεία, 'purity,' which seems to be necessary especially for a person who wants to enter into intercourse with supernatural forces. This purity is supposed to bring man nearer to the divine, to endow him with supernatural powers. If, for instance, the Thesmophorizusae, sitting on the ground, keep a strict fast for a whole day, they wish, it is true, to protect themselves against dangerous demoniac influences, but at the same time intend to facilitate the entrance of the good demons of fertility into their womb.<sup>22</sup> The ἀγνεία is, therefore, required in secret rites of initiation in the mystery-religions;<sup>23</sup> it facilitates the entrance of supernatural revelations into the soul of the prophet,<sup>24</sup> and leads the ascetic to the ὁμιλία πρὸς τὸ θεῖον.<sup>25</sup> The ἀγνεία, finally, is the indispensable condition for the magician who likewise has intercourse with supernatural forces. The magic papyri lay great stress on it and promise success, if the magic action is performed in a state of purity.<sup>26</sup> But in spite of this positive element, the original negative idea, according to which pernicious demoniac forces are supposed to be kept off, appears again and again, also in later writers. The mere use of ἀγνός, ἀγνεύειν with ἀπό or the genitive of separation, which so frequently occurs, proves this.<sup>27</sup> The train of thoughts just explained is certainly applicable to a great number of observances concerning fasting and abstinence from certain foods and drinks. I wish to emphasize, however, that it is by no means a key fit for every lock. In each case we must avoid drawing hasty conclusions. We must, on the contrary, ask ourselves, to what extent motives of another nature could have been active to start such an observance. I mention here historical, popular-etymological motives. Sometimes we have to take into consideration even quite accidental and arbitrary motives. Such an observance seems to be the abstinence of the priestess of Athene Polias from homemade cheese, whereas she was allowed to eat imported cheese.<sup>28</sup> An explanation for this observance has not been found up to now; for, there exists also the exactly opposite rule, namely, that all the foods imported from abroad were forbidden.<sup>29</sup> The statutes of religious sects, as far as fasting and abstinence were concerned, show, besides religious motives, rational and ethical ones; these played, however, a minor part. As regards the Pythagoreans, their chief motive must be found in the high esteem they had for vaticination; another (religious-philosophical) motive was their belief in metempsychosis. The additional motives (hygienic and ethical) are of little importance.<sup>30</sup> This is still more the case in the writings of the Neoplatonic Porphyrius.<sup>31</sup> Hygienic and ethical motives, however, are the only ones emphasized by sects of a strictly philosophical character, the Cynics, Stoics, and Epicureans; their regulations concerning food and drink cannot be called fasting in a religious sense.<sup>32</sup>

Attention must, finally, be called to the difference there is between fasting in the strict sense of the word and ordinances concerning certain foods and drinks. Whereas in the former stress is laid upon the act of eating itself, and the ideal would be to eat or drink nothing,<sup>33</sup> in the latter, the peculiar kind of food is the decisive point. This difference can clearly be seen in the Attic festival of the Haloae, where a great number of foods are excluded from the mystic meal; but in spite of this there was a richly furnished table, and wine was plentifully served.<sup>34</sup> A rule forbade the Roman *flamen dialis* to eat raw meat;<sup>35</sup> he could, therefore, eat it when it was boiled.

<sup>1</sup> R. Arbesmann, "Das Fasten bei den Griechen und Römern," *Religionsgeschichtl. Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, XXI 1, Giessen 1929; L. Ziehen, *ηστέια*, Pauly-Wiss., XVII 1, col. 88 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Περὶ ἡγνείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος VIII 15.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* 358 B; ed. Bernardakis, II 488 f.

<sup>4</sup> Athenaeus, *Deipn.*, IX 375 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Adv. nationes* V 16, CSEL IV 188 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Castus* corresponds here to ἀγνεία (purity required of the worshippers in the cults), and signifies generally all abstention from pleasure on religious grounds. Cf. Arbesmann, *l. c.*, II.

<sup>7</sup> *De nat. anim.* X 16; cf. Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 670 B (Bern. IV 168).

<sup>8</sup> *Oratio* V 176 Df; ed. Hertlein.

<sup>9</sup> *De Is. et Osir.* 353 Df (Bernard. II 476 f.).

<sup>10</sup> Cf. F. J. Doelger, *Ichthys* II (Münster 1922), 54 f.

<sup>11</sup> Athenaeus, *l. c.*, VIII 346 D (=FGH III 155).

<sup>12</sup> Doelger, *l. c.*, 350.

<sup>13</sup> A. Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*, Leipzig 1923; 98 ff.; Arbesmann, *l. c.*, 21 ff.

<sup>14</sup> *De philosophia ex oraculis haurienda* (ed. Wolff), 148.

<sup>15</sup> *Homilia* IX 10 (Migne PG II col. 248 f.).

<sup>16</sup> Plutarch, *De Iside* etc., 361 B (Bern. II 496).

<sup>17</sup> *De defectu orac.* 417 D (Bern. III 88).

<sup>18</sup> *De abstinence* II 47.

<sup>19</sup> *Nat. Hist.* XVIII 118.

<sup>20</sup> Th. Hopfner, "Mageia," Pauly-W. XIV 1 col. 361.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 319 f.

<sup>22</sup> Arbesmann, "Thesmophoria," Pauly-W., 2nd ser., VI 1 col. 19.

<sup>23</sup> Arbesmann, *Das Fasten* ..., 75 ff.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 97 ff.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 104 ff.

<sup>26</sup> Hopfner, *l. c.*, col. 359.

<sup>27</sup> E. Schwenn, rev. of Arbesmann: *Gnomon* VI 660, 662.

<sup>28</sup> Strabo, *Geographica* IX 395.

<sup>29</sup> Porphyrius, *De abstinence* IV 7.

<sup>30</sup> J. Haussleiter, "Der Vegetarismus in der Antike," *Rel. Vers. u. Vorarb.*, XXIV, Berlin 1935; 127; 133; 140 ff.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 326; 331 f.

<sup>32</sup> Ziehen, *l. c.*, col. 97; E. Bickel, "Das asketische Ideal bei Ambrosius, Hieronymus und Augustin," *Neue Jahrb. f. d. klass. Alt.* XXXVII 453.

<sup>33</sup> Concerning Abaris, Epimenides, and Pythagoras, see the passages in Herodotus IV 36; Iamblichus, *Vita Pyth.* 141; Diog. Laert. I 114; Porphyrius, *Vita Pyth.* 34; esp. Porphyrius, *De abst.* IV 20.

<sup>34</sup> Lucian, *Schol. dial. mer.* VII 4; Ziehen, *l. c.*, col. 92.

<sup>35</sup> Gellius, *N.A.* X 15; Plutarch, *Qu. Rom.* 289 F. (Bern. II 316).

### "Miles Gloriosus"

Duo cum incidissent in latronem milites,  
unus profugit, alter autem restitit  
et vindicavit sese forti dextera.  
Latrone occiso, timidus accurrit comes  
stringitque gladium, dein reiecta paenula:  
"Cedo," inquit, "illum: iam curabo sentiat,  
quos attemptarit." Tunc, qui depugnaverat:  
"Vellem istis verbis saltem adiuvissem modo;  
constantior fuisset vera existimans.  
Nunc conde ferrum et linguam pariter futillem,  
ut possis alios ignorantes fallere.  
Ego, qui sum expertus, quantis fugias viribus,  
scio, quam virtuti non sit credendum tuae."  
Illi adsignari debet haec narratio,  
qui re secunda fortis est, dubia fugax.

Phaedrus V 2



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